

THE "WASTELAND" IN THE WESTERN EXPLOITATION OF "RACE" AND THE ENVIRONMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The problems of racism¹ and environmental destruction² seem the most persistent and insoluble in our society. There seems to be an ideological blind spot as to these two issues. Our ability to find solutions seems hindered by emotions, circularity and self-referencing arguments that block meaningful analysis.³

Much of this inability stems from the "eurocentric"⁴ patterns of thought that have come to dominate views of nature and other peoples different in creed, religion, culture and color of skin.⁵ The essential structures of Western thought, found in its prevailing mythology,⁶ deny the Western mind the perspective of an "other" by which we can comprehend its own limitations.⁷ Such Western thinking centers on

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1. Two quite pessimistic perspectives on the ability of American politics to resolve the issue of race are presented in DERRICK A. BELL, *AND WE ARE NOT SAVED: THE ELUSIVE QUEST FOR RACIAL JUSTICE* (1987); and, SPIKE LEE, *DO THE RIGHT THING* (1989). For a contrary view, see SHELBY STEELE, *THE CONTENT OF OUR CHARACTER* (1990).

2. See MAURICE F. STRONG, *IN OUR HANDS: EARTH SUMMIT '92—FROM STOCKHOLM TO RIO: A JOURNEY DOWN A GENERATION 5* (1991) (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) ("What is called for is nothing less than a 'eco-industrial' revolution.").

3. By "self-referencing" I mean that while condemning racism, for example, few scholars and commentators seek to understand the basis of such conduct. In short, racism is taken as "racism" and not as the symptoms of deeper underlying conflicts. See Williamson B.C. Chang, *Meaning, Reference and Reification in the Definition of a Security*, 19 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 403 (1986).

4. Eurocentric thinking refers to the credo that suddenly and vastly elevated the importance of the individual in the Twelfth Century. The construction of the individual as a moral agent, with freedom, will, and purpose is signified by the twin metaphors of the wasteland and the grail quest. See JOSEPH CAMPBELL, *TRANSFORMATIONS OF MYTH THROUGH TIME* 209-10 (1990) [hereinafter *TRANSFORMATIONS*]. The tribes that populated Europe prior to this time worked within mythological structures very similar to the remaining indigenous peoples of the world. For examples of scholarship that examine environmental issues from the perspective of nature as a persona, as an individual, see Earl Finbar Murphy, *Has Nature Any Right To Life?*, 22 HASTINGS L.J. 474 (1971); John Livingston, *Rightness or Rights*, 22 OSGOODE HALL L.J. 309 (1984); P.S. Elder, *Legal Rights for Nature—The Wrong Answer to the Right(s) Question*, 22 OSGOODE HALL L.J. 286 (1984).

5. See generally RONALD SANDERS, *LOST TRIBES AND PROMISED LANDS: THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN RACISM* (1978).

6. The central myth of present Western thought is the grail story. See *TRANSFORMATIONS*, *supra* note 4, at 245-60. See generally RICHARD MARTIN, *BULLFINCH'S MYTHOLOGY* 408-35 (1991).

7. This article suggests that indigenous consciousness provides this alternative "other" by which

the role and importance of the individual in bringing personal and worldly salvation to a natural world that is viewed as a "wasteland."⁸ Thus, the central mythological tradition of the West, as embodied in the grail stories, inspires heroic conquest for personal salvation and the fulfillment of the potential of the individual.⁹ The emergence of the importance of the individual, and thus the importance of both an adversarial relationship between the individual and nature and the religious persecution of untrue faiths, are the basis of the environmental crisis and the nationalism that has produced racism.

Over the centuries, the relationship of the individual to the environment in Europe has been one of separation and conquest. This has generated an economics of scarcity,¹⁰ in which the necessities of physical sustenance and spiritual reward must be earned through heroic deeds.¹¹ Both food and grace are scarce in the western environment of the wasteland,¹² pitting tribes, clans and eventually nations against

we can see the eurocentric origins of the concept of race and western attitudes towards nature. For a discussion of Hawaiian mythology, see MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH, *THE KUMULIPO: A HAWAIIAN CREATION CHANT* (1951); and, PAMELA FRIERSON, *THE BURNING ISLAND: A JOURNEY THROUGH MYTH AND HISTORY IN VOLCANO COUNTRY, HAWAII* (1991).

8. The world is a wasteland in both an economic and a moral sense according to the eurocentric view. The only means of conquering and surviving such a world is through individual quest, either in terms of moral sanctity or accumulation of worldly goods. Thus, the predominant theme of the wasteland is that life on this planet, including the enjoyment of material goods, happiness, love, grace and life itself, is always scarce. The perpetuation of the wasteland is an essential element in the grail quest, for human behavior, beginning in the middle ages, becomes necessary in a world that is barren. See generally TRANSFORMATIONS, *supra* note 4, at 245-60.

9. The quest for the holy grail, namely the vessel which held the blood of Christ and thus which contains both the passion and the essence of a meaningful existence, becomes the energizing force in life. There are many grail stories. But in a larger sense, the grail story is an element in a transformation of thinking that parallels the acceptance of the wasteland. Namely, as the grail quest requires human endeavor to achieve a state of grace or salvation, the implications of the wasteland require human intervention into nature. See *id.* at 229-60. See generally MARTIN, *supra* note 6, at 408-25.

10. Hence, the wasteland, as well as the *raison d'être* for mankind, the grail quest, is conditioned on scarcity. That is, there must always exist some commodity, state of being or goal that only a few who prove themselves through great deeds may achieve. Thus, the wasteland alters the preceding mythological structures in which the world was understood as nurturing and abundant. DAVID MACLAGAN, *CREATION MYTHS: MAN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE WORLD* 24 (1977); HERMAN E. DALY, *STEADY STATE ECONOMICS: THE ECONOMICS OF BIOPHYSICAL EQUILIBRIUM AND MORAL GROWTH* 14-49 (1977).

11. See generally JOSEPH CAMPBELL, *THE HERO WITH A THOUSAND FACES* (1949).

12. The wasteland has generated our assumptions about resources and influenced the rules of economics. The metaphor of the wasteland, for example, insists on the perpetuation of scarcity, if not in one good, then in another. Both ideas of "quest," now equated with "acquisition" and the scarcity of the wasteland, compel that we understand distribution as requiring both supply and demand. There can never be one without the other. As in the central eurocentric mind, there can never be an empty, barren world, without the corresponding duty to achieve, or acquire, or produce. Thus, the many manifestations of the grail quests, even in the leveraged buy-outs of the late 1980s, require of human experience an ever-present hunger, or demand. The imagery of the wasteland is that the world is always a source of scarcity. Moreover, without human intervention, the wasteland is non-productive. The wasteland directs human behavior by describing the laws of nature as entropic, that is, of a clock

each other in endless conflict.

Concurrently, the Middle East and parts of Europe became the battleground for Islam and Christianity.¹³ There could only be one God and those who worshiped other gods, or multitudes of gods, were considered profane.¹⁴ Such religious intolerance easily forms the basis for persecution. When one group triumphed over an enemy, forcefully incorporating foreign elements into its society, the concept of "race" (or different skin color) was used to subvert full acceptance.¹⁵

Both tenets of Western mythology, the wasteland and the grail quest came to replace an indigenous mythologic tradition similar to those outside Europe. If there is to be a solution to the destruction of the environment and racial conflict, it requires a transformation of consciousness. Thus, the spirituality of the world's indigenous people could provide the revolutionary consciousness that transforms economics and ethnic relations.¹⁶

that is winding down to some destructive end. Only human productivity can intervene in this process of entropic meltdown. See *infra* note 25.

13. The crusades are representative of both the wasteland and the grail quest. The Crusades are not only an extension of the grail quest, they encompass the idea that the duty of each great knight is to engage in a deed of honor, in this case, rescuing the holy land from the pagans. The Crusades are also premised on the eurocentric wasteland, that only certain sites, such as Jerusalem, where extraordinary events once occurred, have sacred status. See Joseph S.M. Chang, *Pele On Trial in a Christian Court*, Paper presented at the Asian American Studies Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii (May 9, 1990).

14. The extension of eurocentric thinking throughout the world thus created both the ideas of race and nature or the environment. The idea of race is a product of European colonization of the third world, a colonization that was justified under the thin pretense that such people were, when ready, potential candidates for citizenship in the European home nation. Thus, race was the term and concept that quickly replaced the separate and unique identity, even national status, of the indigenous people who were conquered.

Race was a product of colonialism as it was the means for keeping the colonized from ever obtaining full rights in the European nations while simultaneously demolishing any link with their original indigenous communities. For example, the religious conversion of colonized peoples was held out as a step towards acceptance, as well as a step away from execution for the failure to convert. See BENJAMIN B. RINGER & ELINOR R. LAWLESS, *RACE-ETHNICITY AND SOCIETY* (1989).

Nevertheless, even dark Christianized colonials were denied full membership in the European community because of skin. Thus, even when educated at the finest of European universities, as was Ghandi, or when obtaining levels of intellectual competence or superiority to the European, the remaining obstacle to acceptance was color. Thus, discrimination based on color (as opposed to other forms of discrimination—based on religion or shamanistic practices, etc.) became the price paid in hypocrisy (and betrayal), and also an absolute necessity in the European mind. See generally SANDERS, *supra* note 5; GEORGE M. FREDERICKSON, *THE ARROGANCE OF RACE* (1988); and ROBERT A. WILLIAMS, *THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN WESTERN LEGAL THOUGHT* (1990).

15. Religious intolerance of those who worshipped other gods, including liberating the holy land from the Muslims, divided the world in terms of both religion and color. Moreover, the nation-states that emerged from the religious empires of Europe reconstructed the Greek and Roman idea of "citizen" as a means of granting the conquered peoples of these empires the legal but not cultural rights of the realm. See TRANSFORMATIONS, *supra* note 4, at 210. The intolerance exhibited towards these aliens, many former slaves, was an intolerance as to full acceptance.

16. The western mind has been so blinded by the wasteland and the grail quest that only when in contact with the remaining elements of indigenous thought are we able to see the limitations inherent in

The core of the Western environmental movement is derived from the present stage of the wasteland. It is not a movement derived from the different world-view of indigenous persons, such as Native Hawaiians, who hold completely different attitudes towards scarcity and human influence on nature. The present poverty and political powerlessness of the world's indigenous people belie the spiritual power that attracts the Western mind at a deep, unconscious level. Thus, much of the spiritual power of the Western environmental movement lies in rediscovery of a common archetype with indigenous people.¹⁷

On the other hand, much of the mainstream political response to both environmental and racial conflict is an extension of the present economics of scarcity. The presumptive view that heroic human deeds will solve such problems is a component of this paradigm. Its essence is that nature has no independent order. The wasteland requires human intervention. Indeed, salvation is dependent on heroic deeds.

The wasteland paradigm is invisible to those embedded in its structure. It is literally impossible, like the fish which cannot "comprehend water," to experience its limitations.¹⁸ Only by examining the world view of a contrasting culture, such as the remaining indigenous cultures of the world, can one find the paradigmatic "other" to understand our own Western minds. Such a possibility is both exciting and frightening. The suggestion of new ways of thinking is deeply threatening. Not only does it challenge the accumulated wealth of the "haves" (classes and nations) but it is more disturbing as challenging the necessity of accumulation as human activity.¹⁹

The prospect of reinventing the self is more frightening than going to war with others for food or oil. Indeed, such a dramatic re-invention of the self is a process akin to death of the self as we know it.²⁰

These are the deeply profound issues that underlie our fundamen-

Western solutions. If we examine how Hawaiians have struggled to preserve the essence of their original world-view, we can see how the wasteland mythology can be reversed. See generally GEORGE H.S. KANAHELE, *KU KANAKA: STAND TALL "A SEARCH FOR HAWAIIAN VALUES"* (1986); and, E.S. CRAIGHILL HANDY, *POLYNESIAN RELIGION*, BERNICE PAUHI MUSEUM (1928).

17. See RITA KNIFE, *THE WATER OF LIFE: A JUNGIAN JOURNEY THROUGH HAWAIIAN MYTH* (1989).

18. In an ironic fashion, both racism and environmental destruction are necessary elements of Western civilization. The elimination of both would require a fundamental overthrow of the basic assumptions of Western thinking, assumptions that are part of the Western mind itself. The economic principles of the world reflect the mythological transformation that occurred in the Middle Ages; a world that was abundant became a wasteland.

19. DALY, *supra* note 10.

20. ERNEST BECKER, *THE DENIAL OF DEATH* (1973).

tal failure to make progress as to both racism and environmental protection. Nevertheless, the archetype of an ancient mystic connection with nature remains in the unconscious of the Western mind.²¹ While it is repressed by rational thought, it is profoundly awakened when the Western mind encounters the authentic spirituality in the lives of indigenous people.²²

This article suggests that we must first understand that problems of race and environmental catastrophe stem from a predominant eurocentric view that transformed the relationship between the individual and nature. This change occurred in the Thirteenth Century and ousted the cosmogonic views of indigenous European tribes which saw the individual as acting in harmony with nature. The emphasis on the individual, distinct from the philosophies that developed in the Orient and the Far East, generated civilizations that prized individual heroics. The justification for individual heroics was often the quest for a symbolic actualization of the self, as exemplified in the grail stories.

This reorientation of the individual, as one whose purpose was self-attainment in a "profane" world, as well as the destruction of "false" gods, set the stage for the present political and economic relationships manifested in racism and environmental degradation.²³ A new politics can only be created by reordering the place of the individual in nature—an ordering that the indigenous people of the world have maintained, despite the conquest and genocide of these people by the West.

I. ALIENATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN WESTERN THOUGHT

The Arthurian tales are heroic tales which serve as the metaphor for a life of spontaneity as a means of rescuing the wasteland. The heroic story requires the overcoming of obstacles. The obstacle to the individual is one's own natural self, symbolized by the tribal or religious rituals that required one to act in certain ways. Another obstacle was nature as understood by the pre-Arthurian European. Nature,

21. KNIPE, *supra* note 17, at 99 ("Psychologically we can understand the little people as personifications of creative impulses that come to us from our own unseen places. They personify the hidden forces of nature, both in the outer world and within our own human nature.").

22. *See id.*, at 4.

23. The very term "environment" is also an extension of the wasteland. Terms such as "nature" and "environment" distinguish the indivisible connection between person and world that existed in both pre-Arthurian indigenous Europe as well as the cultures of indigenous persons such as Hawaiians. Thus, to speak of "environmental problems" we speak in the metaphoric framework of the wasteland, about "problems" that are separate and distinct from ourselves, much as if a bodily disease has no relationship to the mind or spirit.

often described in cyclical terms, was deterministic, leaving no role for individual action or spontaneity.

The rise of the "heroic individual," as one who challenges both the existing orthodoxy of the society and the overwhelming power of nature, is expressed in the Arthurian romances as the rise of human virtue. In these stories, one sees how virtue or spontaneous action changes individual destiny. Thus, the individual becomes more important than the clan. As in the story of Parzival, an individual can change the history of the world.

This virtue is both the triumph of the heart as well as the power of ideas, demonstrating the power of the mind. Thus, the central mythological tradition of present Western thinking celebrates and necessitates the triumph of mind over body. Hence, one's spiritual and intellectual alienation from one's own body, as well as from nature, becomes the galvanizing force for the celebration of the individual in a variety of endeavors: scientific thought, philosophy and religion.

The emergence of the power of the individual, expressed through virtue and intelligence is a sharp departure from the pre-Arthurian mystic cosmology of the Celts, the Bretons and other tribes. For these tribes, coexistence with, not dominance of, nature was essential. Nature was seen as abundant, providing and nurturing. The rise of individual achievement, however, requires that nature be portrayed as an obstacle to be overcome. Individual lives are heroic only in the face of adversity. This adversity is both the hostile and scarce wasteland of Europe as well as the wasteland of lives lacking spontaneity. Thus the price of heroism, that is history (as opposed to existence in which the self plays no role), is that the individual finds freedom by challenging nature and by fighting against the tendencies of one's own "nature" (or natural state).

For some the solution to the alienation experienced in industrial Europe lay in exploring the nativistic aspects of other cultures.²⁴ Thus, it is through other expressive forms, such as art,²⁵ architecture, music and literature that the West searches for the "original self."

In art, Picasso and Bracque found in African art the mirror of this archetype connecting the conscious mind with its unconscious re-

24. This theme has been expressed in a variety of generic patterns, from the "going native" transformations of artists, such as Van Gogh, to the expression of indigenous spirituality as terrifying and destructive of civilized mores. The indigenous spirit is viewed as expressive of the intuitive "nobility" of the individual in a natural state, as in Rousseau's "noble savage." However, that "authenticity" is deeply frightening to a Western sense of civilization and order. SANDERS, *supra* note 5, at 199.

25. The explosive proliferation of cubism was an initial, politically non-threatening, recognition of the contribution to the West of indigenous people and an implicit critique of the rigorous symmetry of existing positivist science.

lationship to both the sexuality of the body as well as the forces of nature.²⁶ The ideas expressed by their cubism form the basis in which an industrializing Europe expresses this core identity in architecture, art and thought. Cubism is enticing. The "spiritual life" of indigenous persons touches deep archetypes in the Western consciousness that seem to promise an "authenticity" lacking in the present wasteland of Western life.²⁷

Hence, the attraction of the West to cultures such as those of the Native Hawaiian is partly rooted in original archetypes of pre-Arthurian Europe.²⁸ It is an archetype that finds commonality in the sincerity in which Hawaiians profess their unity with nature.²⁹ Yet, this archetype threatens the order of Western society.

The simultaneous attraction and revulsion of the Western mind to the world of indigenous people, as in the contact of missionaries with Hawaiians, is a common experience of neo-colonialism.³⁰ The inability to reconcile the unconscious attraction to the non-western culture with the view that "people of color" were, like nature itself, profane until sanctified, rendered Modern art avant garde and thus, inappropriate for the most elite in society. But the message of Picasso, Bracque, Jung and even Freud, was irrepressible. That message was that the notions of "salvation" and health in one's worldly existence required confrontation with the body and the unconscious.

The psychological remnants of European colonization, including the institution of slavery, cannot be explained simply by the fact that Europeans considered their colonial subjects to be inferior. The extreme viciousness of European attitudes in the colonies was often marked by sadistic hatred. The cultures of the colonized third world served as a mirror for the European colonizers of hidden aspects of the Western mind. The viciousness of colonial administration was thus reflective of the projection of self-hatred, or the attempt to purge one-

26. It was this redefinition of the self, and thus of society, that Picasso and Bracque stumbled upon in their work. The terrifying aspects of the body and sexuality boldly exploded across their canvasses, not in a representational fashion, but as it would appear if the unconscious could be made to be seen. Their art became for civilized Europe the "proper" text for which to experiment with one's own inner nature.

27. The attraction of the West to what is deemed primitive art or indigenous thought, or the holistic mythology of native people is derived from the pain of alienation in Western society. The Arthurian romances and the rise of the individual did not destroy the pre-Arthurian mystic connection that existed between self and nature and self and body. The dualism in which such concepts are now easily discussed was not reflected in the mythology or, in many cases, the languages of the pre-Arthurian, European tribes.

28. TRANSFORMATIONS, *supra* note 4, at 225.

29. See generally KANAHELE, *supra* note 16.

30. See PATRICIA GRIMSHAW, PATHS OF DUTY: AMERICAN MISSIONARY WIVES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY HAWAII (1989).

self of a disease, through vicious practices in the colonies.³¹

In short, the colonial subjects were treated worse than animals. The daily life of animals could not, in any way, threaten the veneer of European civility. On the other hand, the spiritual life of the colonial subjects deeply threatened the European obsession with spiritual and political "virtue" as expressed in discipline, the work ethic and the mastery of the environment.³² Thus, the intensity of American and European racism can be seen as a fear of sliding backwards into the pre-Arthurian conception of the self. The Third World was a mirror held up to the face of the Western mind. In the desire to destroy the reflection of a pre-modern psyche, European colonialism engaged in conversion and extermination.

II. UNDERSTANDING THE WEST THROUGH THE WORLD VIEW OF NATIVE HAWAIIANS

Native Hawaiian thought is typical of the cultures that the European colonial powers sought to destroy. The existence of such cultures today serve as the only means of allowing the West to understand the assumptions that underlie its views of both ethnicity and environment. For example, the celebration of the individual, particularly when conceived of as separate from nature, is the antithesis of Hawaiian thought. In understanding the limitations of Western thinking through a process of comparison with narratives of Hawaiian thought, one sees both the constraints of solving racism and environmental issues through Western paradigms, as well as the transformative potential of indigenous thought.

As in the pre-Arthurian cultures Hawaiian thought links one's clan with nature, making one a trustee of nature, not a conqueror of it. When the environment is presumptively "sacred" as opposed to "profane," human endeavor is limited to stewardship. Nature is not a stage for heroic deeds. Nature is heroic in itself.

More importantly, the means of embedding such attitudes in Hawaiian society was to link Hawaiians by genealogy to critical resources in nature.³³ Thus, Hawaiian use of the environment flowed from the

31. See LARRY E. TISE, *PROSLAVERY: A HISTORY OF THE DEFENSE OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA 1701-1840* (1987); and, *THE INDIGENOUS VOICE: VISIONS AND REALITIES* (Roger Moody ed., 1988).

32. Thus, ethnic and national conflict are extensions of this crisis. They are attempts, through defining an enemy which becomes the other, by which one defines one's national, or clan identity. See PIERRE L. VAN DEN BERGE, *RACE AND RACISM: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE* (1967); WERNER SOLLORS, *THE INVENTION OF ETHNICITY* (1989); and, NATHAN GLAZER & DANIEL MOYNIHAN, *ETHNICITY: THEORY AND EXPERIENCE* (1975).

33. Emphasis on genealogy created extraordinarily different relationships in Hawaiian society than in the West. The Hawaiian's identity and structure for understanding the world flowed from the

kind of respect accorded one's elders in the family. One learned how to behave by watching the conduct of family and members of the group. Proper behavior was not learned by contesting the rights of others before a tribunal. In short, one does not insult one's uncle at a family gathering in order to learn proper behavior. In contrast, the Western system of dispute resolution is largely premised on the need for resolving disputes between persons competing to accumulate.

In the Hawaiian world, if one understands natural resources to be an extension of one's family, accumulating more cousins really does not make much sense. One is born into a family and cannot do much to change it. The resources that were part of the European wasteland were thus alive in the world of the Hawaiian.

Thus, in the epic of *Papa*, *Wakea* and their daughter, the taro plant, the people, and all the islands are siblings.³⁴ Each sibling owes reciprocal duties to the others. The younger siblings must serve and protect the elder siblings, the taro and the land. The elder siblings, be they taro, land or people, must provide for the well-being of the younger ones.

Kumulipo. Every event was part of the sequence that begins at the moment of creation. All Hawaiians were, and presently are, ultimately related, descendants of common ancestors. Relationships are governed by degrees of kinship, and rights are accorded more to the family or to the society than to the individual, unlike in the West. While divisions did exist between chiefs and commoners, there was an overriding context of wholeness and unity among the people.

Chants and epics were the means for understanding the practices and customs on earth. Epics, such as that of *Papa* and *Wakea*, the earth-mother and the sky-father, created the patterns for behavior on earth, and generated controlling principles, such as *malama 'aina*—caring for the land.

34. The first daughter of the sky-father *Wakea* and the earth-mother *Papa*, is *Ho'ohokukalani* (to generate stars of the sky). She is a great beauty and *Wakea*, the sky-father, has a growing desire for his daughter. *Wakea* hopes to consummate this relationship with his daughter without the knowledge of *Papa*. Under the *aikapu*, the division between men and women, there are four nights each lunar month set aside for the special worship of certain gods. On these nights it is forbidden for men to sleep with their wives. On one of these nights *Wakea* is alone with and makes love to his daughter. His daughter returns and tells *Papa*, her mother, about this event. A great argument ensues between *Wakea* and *Papa* who leaves their home. *Wakea* and his daughter produce celebrated offspring in the Hawaiian cosmology:

The first child of *Wakea* and *Ho'ohokukalani* was an unformed fetus they named *Haloo* [long stalk]. They buried *Haloo* in the earth, out of which the first taro plant is said to have grown. The second child, also named *Haloo* became the ancestor of the Hawaiian chiefs and people. Thus the taro plant, which was the main staple of the people of old, is also the elder brother of the Hawaiian race, and as such deserves great respect.

The third and fourth child of *Wakea* and his daughter are the islands *Lana'i* and *Moloka'i*. These are to be added to the other original siblings of *Ho'ohokukalani*, the islands of *Hawai'i* and *Maui*. Thus, the children of the mating of *Papa* and *Wakea* are 1) the island of *Hawai'i*, 2) the island of *Maui* and the daughter *Ho'ohokukalani*. The children of the incestuous relationship between *Wakea* and his daughter are 1) *Haloo*, the taro, 2) *Haloo* the Chief, 3) the island *Lana'i* and 4) the island *Moloka'i*.

A number of important principles that govern Hawaiian life are derived from this epic. Among them are the principle of *'aikapu*, or sacred eating, which protects the purity of men by separating them from the profanity of women; the mana, importance of incest in the enhancement of *mana*, and, *malama 'aina*, or caring for the land.

Epics such as these should not be understood as only conveying literal accounts of genesis and causation but also, as a reminder and means of recreating a state of mind that is necessary in Hawaiian society for success and order. Entering that state of mind generates right practice. Rules that call for clear, pre-ordained results are secondary, and merely evidence of "the right state of being"—a psychological allegiance with one's community. Thus the chanting, the hula, and the poetry of the epics are the means of calling forth states of mind that generate right actions.

Examining Hawaiian creation epics facilitates an understanding of how the individual is linked to nature in Hawaiian thought. The epics stress the importance of the original unity among body, spirit and environment. The contrary Western concept of rights—premised on the individual as separate from others—is vastly different from the Hawaiian relationship of reciprocity that flowed from the epics.

An essential difference between the contemporary Western approach to the environment and that of the Hawaiian is that understanding is experiential in the Hawaiian context. Thus, rules, treaties and language do not guide conduct. Rather, entering the right state of mind generates proper practice. Thus, a written code cannot guide proper action because it fails to produce the necessary state of mind. The Hawaiian oral tradition was a purposeful way of creating the necessary impact, in terms of the sounds, the beat, and the dance, to place the audience in the proper trance-like state of right practice.³⁵

35. Thus, by one's act of chanting or hearing the *Kumulipo*, the account of creation, one *experiences*, as opposed to simply *learns* of, the fundamental unity that generates the relationships in the world:

O Ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
At the time of changing, the earth was hot
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
At the time of changing, the heavens unfolded
O ke au i kuka'iaka ka la
At the time when the sun appeared in shadows
E ho'omalalama i ka malama
Causing the moon to shine
O ke au o Makali'i ka po
At the time when the *Pleides* were seen in the night
O ka walewale ho'okumu honua ia
It is the slime that establishes the earth
O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai
At the beginning of the deep darkness, darkening
O ke kumu o ka Po, i po ai
At the beginning of the night, only night
O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
In the unfathomable darkness, dark blue and bottomless
O ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka po
In the darkness of the sun, in the endless night
Po wale ho'i
Indeed, it was only night

The Hawaiian world-view is not just a modification of eurocentric values. It is a different way of experiencing the world. The combination of the substantive message of the narrative, the means of its communication, and the social reaffirmation in daily life created a different view of the world. The effect is to reverse the presumption that governs Western environmental practice where the world is a wasteland (even as we try to save it). To Hawaiians, the world was sacred and human deeds were not required to sanctify nature.

III. THE WASTELAND LEGACY: INDIGENOUS PERSONS AS ENDANGERED RESOURCES

The prevailing Western approach to the environmental crisis is an extension of the world view that itself generated the crisis.³⁶ The world is still seen as separate from individuals. Indeed, the approach of organizations such as the Nature Conservancy is to use money to deny humans access to critical areas. The Human species is not part of the ecological system of the world. Thus, nature must be protected from humans. To native persons, such as Hawaiians, such an approach is offensive: not only does it perpetuate the power of accumulated wealth, but it undermines the natural kinship of nature and Native Hawaiians.

Similarly, the reforms suggested at the recent Earth Summit proceed from the perceived necessity of human endeavor to solve the new grail quest of the world. Agenda 21 calls for an eco-industrial "revolution" and promotes scientific advances and technology transfer as the means of solution. There is an implicit assumption that the present world desires for higher and higher standards of living can be attained through advances in technology.

More important, it will be nations, acting through treaties, that will resolve this crisis. In short, this is the new crusade, the holy land this time is the world as a whole. As in the original crusades, powerful nation states are organized and poised to defend a common religion. As before, the essential elements of the religion—in this case, the necessity of consumption and assumption of scarcity—are not being

Hanau ka po

The night gave birth

Hanau Kumulipo i ka po, he kane

Kumulipo [foundation of darkness] was born in the night, a male

Hanau Po'ele i ka po, he wahine

Po'ele [the dark night] was born in the night, a female.

36. The ambitious goal of the Earth Summit is to "save the planet." While the summit is hailed as the largest ever, in terms of international concerns it should not be seen as an international extension of the environmental movement. Rather it is an economic summit which has (finally) recalculated environmental damage as part of the costs of production.

challenged. In short, different world views, such as those of indigenous persons, are being ignored.

The deliberate silencing of indigenous voices in environmental reform is critical to the maintenance of a political order which is regarded as more important than the maintenance of the a healthy planet, because such silencing promotes the denial of sovereignty to indigenous persons.

IV. THE COERCED AND THE CONSENTING: AN ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA FOR A DIVIDED AMERICA

Convincing Hawaiians that theirs is a race problem plays a key role in forcing them to relinquish claims to the islands.³⁷ Both the left and right articulate the Hawaiian struggle in these terms for both the left and right, if not Hawaiians, fear the land reforms that may take place if Hawaii becomes the political homeland of Hawaiians. Moreover, both the liberal left and the right are wholly convinced that Hawaiians could not create a better society than America.³⁸ They are thus blinded by the fact that there is a fundamental difference between themselves, who originally came to America by themselves or as progeny of ancestors, in some voluntary fashion. They are largely Americans by consent. Native Hawaiians, like the other indigenous persons of the Americas are "Americans" by conquest. The image held up to

37. For example, the position offered by the Hawaii State Democratic party, and accepted at the national convention in New York, states that the trust created by the United States to benefit Hawaiians, resulting from the U.S. involvement of the Hawaiian Kingdom, is a trust to benefit both Hawaiians and the public at large. This contravenes the intent of that trust, which was to benefit those harmed by the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, namely the former citizens of the Kingdom of Hawaii, a nation recognized by the United States and the world community. By broadening the trust to include the "public" the state Democratic party seeks to place Hawaiian issues on a par with issues of discrimination against other races. See generally, *Hawaiian Rights Win Recognition in New York*, HONOLULU ADVERTISER, July 15, 1992, at A-8 (The Democrats "would require the United States government to recognize its trustee obligation to the inhabitants of Hawaii generally, and to Native Hawaiians in particular.") For an analysis of how the trust responsibility was subverted in this fashion, see *Hawaiian Homes Commission Act: Hearing Before the Senate Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources*, 102d Cong., 2d Sess. 674-700 (1992) (statement of Williamson Chang, on behalf of the Kalamaula Homestead Association). See also, R. Lolana Fentemacher, *Charges of Racism Divert Attention from the Truth*, HONOLULU STAR BULL., July 17, 1992, at A-17.

38. See generally ROGER BELL, *LAST AMONG EQUALS: HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD AND AMERICAN POLITICS* 115 (1984). "She [the wife of Governor Farrington] further suggested that if the native population had been left to run Hawaii it might not be far removed from the Stone Age." See also, *Evicted: State Squashes Stand for Sovereignty*, KAUAI TIMES, July 19, 1991, at 1 (eviction of beneficiaries of Hawaiian Homes trust from land leased by the Department of Hawaiian Homes to the County of Kauai for use as a County park). For a discussion of different models of sovereignty, see *NATIVE HAWAIIAN RIGHTS HANDBOOK* 91 (Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie ed., 1991) (reporting on a resolution from a Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Conference held in 1988, which stated that Hawaiians should take back all ceded lands—approximately 2 million out of the total of 4 million acres in the State of Hawaii).

the world of America leaves this distinction out of the picture. It argues, when such objections are raised, that the conquered are fortunate to have been assimilated, even if forcefully, for the world now acknowledges the total superiority of the American political system.

The daily means of perpetuating the falsehood that Hawaiians and others are immigrants too, is to reformulate their claims as claims held by people of color in general, that is as claims against forms of racial discrimination.³⁹ Of course, this is fundamentally at odds with the real nature of Hawaiian claims—for claims of discrimination assume that full equality, perhaps even an equality which promotes “difference,” would be the solution.⁴⁰ Such full equality, however, requires assimilation and acceptance of American citizenship.⁴¹ The assumption that Hawaiians would accept such an offer is premised on the belief that they value an equality that is primarily material, over a self-determination that would allow them to live within their own cultural norms.⁴²

It is the left, more than the right, which has abandoned native indigenous people.⁴³ The present politics of race, which asserts that

39. See race based objections to preference programs for native Hawaiians raised by various departments of the federal government: Statement of President Bush, November 28, 1990, approving S. 566 : “In that regard I am concerned about section 958(a) of the Act, which provides a preference to Native Hawaiians for housing assistance programs. . . . This race based classification cannot be derived from the constitutional authority granted to Congress and the executive branch to benefit Native Americans as members of tribes.” As to how progressive elements of Hawaiian society might play the race card see *Rare Storm Over Race Ruffles a Mixed Society*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 26, 1990, at A-20. (describing an attack on the progressive chairwoman of the Hawaiian studies department who framed the dispute primarily in terms of an extension of American racism). The article that triggered the storm is Haunanin-Kay Trask, *Caucasians are Haoles*, KA LEO O HAWAII, Sept. 19, 1990, at 5.

40. See generally CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY IN THE PACIFIC (Jocelyn Linnekin & Lin Poyer eds., 1990). Racially, Hawaiians are part of the polynesian “race.” They are of “Hawaiian” national origin. Polynesians include people residing in the triangle of the Pacific marked by Aotorea (“New Zealand” on western maps) in the southwest corner, Tahiti in the southeastern corner (or Easter Island), and Hawaii at the top of the triangle. National groups that are included within Polynesia are Tongans, Maori, Tahitians, Marquesans, and Hawaiians. Polynesians are not to be confused with Micronesians (literally “small islands”) (Caroline Islands—Carolineans, Marianas—Chamorro, the Republic of Belau—Palauans, Yap—Yapese, Pohnpei—Ponapaens, or Truk—Trukese) or Melanesians (“dark islands”) including the islands of what is formerly referred to as New Caledonia, the Gilberts, the Solomons, Irian Jaya, New Guinea, and others. Thus the category “Hawaiian” is more descriptive of national origin, than race. For a description of how Polynesians may differ in terms of politics, see RANGINUI WALKER, *NGA TAU TOHETOHE: YEARS OF ANGER* (1987). On the issue of ethnicity, see Ishmael Reed et al., *Is Ethnicity Obsolete?*, in *THE INVENTION OF ETHNICITY*, *supra* note 32, at 226-35.

41. “Distinctions must be drawn as to assimilation, which may be either cultural or ideological, and acculturation, which embraces the notion of ‘Americanization’ or structural assimilation.” See BELL, *supra* note 38, at 93 (citing works of Talcott Parsons, Milton M. Gordon, and Michael Parenti). See generally FRANCIS L. K. HSU, *AMERICANS AND CHINESE: PASSAGE TO DIFFERENCES* (3d ed. 1981).

42. See MICHAEL K. DUDLEY & KEONI K. AGARD, *A CALL FOR HAWAIIAN SOVEREIGNTY* (1990).

43. If one identifies as the “left the Democratic Party in Hawaii after World War II, one sees that

native indigenous persons are one spectrum of the rainbow of "people of color" is self-serving and benefits the political agenda of the left. The left seeks a political transformation of America, perhaps in revolutionary ways, but always *as* Americans. Indigenous persons, given a fighting political chance, would not seek a transformation of America (why interfere in the politics of Americans?) but rather, seek what was always theirs—a homeland for their culture. Indeed, the return to a homeland, in which the political norms may be reactionary by the standards of the American left, is not revolutionary in the leftist sense at all.⁴⁴ It is no more than the principle of self-determination that even the American right invoked in support of the military restoration of the government of Kuwait.⁴⁵

Thus the left, particularly left "people of color," must confront the possibility that they are using indigenous people, particularly the moral claims of such groups, to achieve their own assimilatory ends. For example, race-conscious remedies such as affirmative action that form the core of the struggle with the conservative right cannot be simply transplanted to Hawaiians. Hawaiians want more than simply a quota of jobs at the fire department. They want their own fire department.

Nevertheless, the appalling economic conditions of native people in the United States is used, frequently by the left more than the right,

the emphasis on equality was a fundamental and thus inherently damaging part of that party's push for statehood. Much of the damage to the Hawaiian Homes program, for example, was perpetuated after statehood. Neglect of the trust responsibilities accepted by the state of Hawaii was premised on a dislike for favoring one racial group over another. Thus, there was a widespread attitude that Hawaiians were not entitled to any preferences that undermined the purpose of the Act. Williamson B.C. Chang, *Present at the Creation: Are Homestead Water Rights a Right or a Privilege?*, MOLOKAI DISPATCH, Oct. 1, 1991, at 1; Williamson B.C. Chang, *Bury my Heart on Capitol Hill*, MOLOKAI DISPATCH, Nov. 15, 1991, at 1; Williamson B.C. Chang, *Designation Molokai: This Throne of Kings, This Realm, This . . . Molokai*, KE KIA'I, April 30, 1992, at 1; Williamson B.C. Chang, *To a Hawaiian Child Unborn: May There Be Room At the Inn*, MOLOKAI DISPATCH, Dec. 15, 1991, at 10; Williamson B.C. Chang, *Congressional Hearing Raises Uncertainty about Status of Amendments to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act*, MOLOKAI DISPATCH, Sept. 1, 1991, at 11; and, Williamson B.C. Chang, *And Will the First be the Last: Kalamaula Homesteaders Demand Molokai Hearing on Kaluakoi's Twelve Inch Pipeline*, MOLOKAI DISPATCH, Sept. 4, 1991, at 1. For a survey of land use abuses by many identified with the rise of the Democratic party (based strongly in Japanese-American unity) and the demise of the Republican party, see generally GEORGE COOPER & GAVAN DAWES, *LAND AND POWER IN HAWAII* (1985).

44. Implementation of Hawaiian notions of economics would be reflected in ideas of "sharing" and "gifting," once described by one Hawaiian writer as "primal." See KANAHELE, *supra* note 16. See JOCELYN LINNEKIN, *CHILDREN OF THE LAND: EXCHANGE AND STATUS IN A HAWAIIAN COMMUNITY* (1985). Moreover, the constitution of the largest pro-sovereignty group, Ka Lahui, acknowledges the future role of the alii (chiefly) class in government as to protocol. See NATIVE HAWAIIAN RIGHTS HANDBOOK, *supra* note 38, at 93.

45. See Williamson B.C. Chang, *Hawaiians Face Challenge in Reconciling Gulf War*, HONOLULU STAR BULL., Feb. 28, 1991, at A23.

to restructure claims for sovereignty—the return of lands and self-determination as to cultural practices—as welfare claims.⁴⁶ Such a reformulation fundamentally undermines native sovereignty movements for the reframing of these claims as welfare rights must be premised within a structure which attributes all poverty of “persons of color” to racial discrimination (both individual and institutional).⁴⁷

On the other hand, the material poverty of native indigenous persons is a reflection of defiance against assimilation. Thus, offering college scholarships to indigenous students is not, as much of the left assumes, without deep cultural complications for native people. While a Chinese or Korean in America may view education as a primary right in which affirmative action is necessary to correct past wrongs, the Native American or Native Hawaiian family sees education as a form of destruction of the last remaining traces of their indigenous identity.⁴⁸

The reluctance to assimilate by refusing to participate in the American quest for achievement is used by both the right and left for their own political purposes. The indigenous political claim has rarely been articulated. The right sees in the failure to take advantage of opportunities an inherent cultural inferiority in indigenous persons which justifies greater and greater neglect amounting to forms of genocide.⁴⁹ The left assumes that the experience and daily life of America's conquered people reflects their own aspirations and experiences. Indeed, while both Asian immigrants and Native Hawaiians will have suffered the same physical blows from an American racist, the equal size or color of their respective bruises does not mean they share the same political goals.

Thus there is a theoretical hegemony among those who argue

46. See Williamson B.C. Chang, *Sing a Song of Sovereignty*, KE KIA'I, Mar. 14, 1991, at 4; Williamson B.C. Chang, *On the Dangers of a Constitutional Convention*, KE KIA'I, Apr. 30, 1991, at 4. See also, KANAHELE, *supra* note 16. As to the economic status of Native Hawaiians, see *The Report from the Select Comm. on Indian Affairs, testimony on the Native Hawaiian Health Care Improvement Act*, S. Rep. 580, 100th Cong., at 14 (1988) (“More importantly, Hawaiians [of any blood quantum] died at a rate 146 percent higher than the U.S. All Race population . . .”).

47. See generally STEPHEN LEVINE & RAJ VASIL, *MAORI POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES* (1985) (expression of similar view by Maoris in Aotorea (New Zealand)); VINE DELORIA JR. & CLIFFORD LYTLE, *THE NATIONS WITHIN: THE PAST AND FUTURE OF AMERICAN INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY* (1984) (similar view as to Native Americans).

48. See generally LEVINE & VASIL, *supra* note 47. See also Gary Smith, *Shadow of a Nation*, *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*, Feb. 18, 1991, at 60 (describing the conflict for Native American basketball stars in leaving the reservations on college basketball scholarships); CHALSA M. LOO, *CHINATOWN: MOST TIME HARD TIME* (1991) (Chinese attitudes toward education); and generally, WAYNE PATTERSON, *THE KOREAN FRONTIER IN AMERICA: IMMIGRATION TO HAWAII, 1898-1910* (1988); RONALD TAKAKI, *STRANGERS FROM A DIFFERENT SHORE: A HISTORY OF ASIAN AMERICANS*.

49. THOMAS SOWELL, *CIVIL RIGHTS: RHETORIC OR REALITY* (1984); THOMAS SOWELL, *ETHNIC AMERICA: A HISTORY* (1981).

about race-conscious remedies, from either the right or the left, that guarantees the continued use of racism, and therefore the existence of racism against the indigenous persons of America. The focus on race in critical and other scholarship, to the exclusion of the division between those Americans who are "coerced" as opposed to (individually or collectively) "consenting" helps to hide the first and still primary division that separates the people of America. The emphasis on race excludes from the debate the sovereignty or nationalist claims of Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, Hispanized Indians of the southwest, and African Americans, all who by acts of the United States were forcefully dispossessed from their homelands, whether or not the United States occupied these lands. There is no question that violent racism signifies much of the contradictions that exist in American society. However, by focusing on race, scholars mistake the symptoms for the cause of much of the persistent anger of those who are dispossessed, and the concomitant guilt of those who have benefitted from the taking of individual and national sovereignty.⁵⁰

Fundamentally, the legal solution requires returning land and sovereignty to native people, as in the case of Hawaii.⁵¹ Moreover, it requires doing so without interference as to the nature of the political and social arrangements that such people would choose.

Since the left and the right, even though divided violently on race, require for their respective political agendas the continuation of American occupation of indigenous lands, both groups benefit from the debate on race. The debate on race, and its means of discounting indigenous claims by understanding them as consistent with claims of all "people of color," diverts both world and domestic attention from the very straightforward claims of America's indigenous people.

Racism inappropriately combines the legal and political claims of vastly different groups of persons of color. For some, such as Native Hawaiians, the life task is an expression of the cultural drive to "remember past bitterness," a chain of memory that is the only link to a culture destroyed by the occupying force. Other people of color are not burdened by such a relentless cultural task. As the descendants of

50. Scholars on each end of the affirmative action or race spectrum both neglect the historical differences between the dispossessed Americans (including African-American descendents of slavery) and other "people of color" who have immigrated to the United States. Thus, much of Thomas Sowell's work on ethnicity and race in America compares the success of Chinese Americans (who have immigrated and who have a homeland in China) with the apparent lack of success of parts of the African-American community. He is comparing apples and oranges when he fails to note the differences in behavior generated by whether American status is compelled or chosen.

51. See PAUL BRODEUR, *RESTITUTION: THE LAND CLAIMS OF THE MASHPEE, PASSAMAQUODDY, AND PENOBSCOTT INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND* (1985); LINDA S. PARKER, *NATIVE AMERICAN ESTATE: THE STRUGGLE OVER INDIAN AND HAWAIIAN LANDS* (1989).

immigrant groups whose purpose in immigration was clearly a better life than that in their homeland, one's purpose in America is clear.⁵² Hence, barriers to achieving such purpose, such as discrimination based on race or ethnicity stand out as obvious wrongs. For Native Hawaiians, on the other hand, preoccupation with success and progress becomes confused in the need to protect an original cultural identity, often by rejecting what stands for success in American terms.

For the Native Hawaiian, simply attaining equality with other Americans does not address the destruction of the cultural self.⁵³ In many cases that destruction is total and complete. There is no "old world" homeland where the culture remains alive and viable no matter how much assimilation takes place in Hawaii. Americans occupy the Hawaiian homeland.

In one sense, those groups dispossessed of their culture by American history face life-tasks that are similar—the survival of their culture depends on radical strategies of resistance. It is this idea of resistance, as a cultural task in preserving one's group identity, that differentiates the claims of the dispossessed.

Perhaps the most threatening fundamental difference of indigenous persons is their completely different view of property.⁵⁴ Hence structuring conflict as race based rather than as conflicts of national liberation does not challenge the legitimacy of the land claims of the United States as a nation occupying the homeland of Native Americans. We will use American slogans, concepts and principles (like the Equal Protection clause) to argue race but we will not, whether we are neo-right or neo-left, challenge the underlying premise—Americans will not give up their privileged use of Native lands.

The present environmental crisis is premised on both the wasteland and the grail quest. The result has been that the indigenous persons throughout the Third World, the Native, or indian populations of the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, have been denied self-determination and sovereignty. Thus indigenous people, who lack complete sovereignty, have difficulty articulating a different point of view, a truly transformative point of view, as to the present environmental

52. See HSU, *supra* note 41; CLARENCE GLICK, *SOJOURNERS AND SETTLERS: CHINESE MIGRANTS IN HAWAII* (1980).

53. Hawaiians, for example, are intensely concerned about destruction of burial sites, an issue that does not face other "people of color" in the same manner. See Ann L. Moore, *Return and Care of Bones is Seminar Topic*, KA WAI OLA O OHA, Dec. 1989, at 1; and *Hawaiian Remains Will Return*, KA WAI OLA O OHA, July, 1991, at 1. See also, Edwin Tanji, *Burial Site a Historical Treasure: Resting Place of Ancient Hawaiians*, HONOLULU ADVERTISER, Dec 11, 1988, at A-10.

54. See generally KANAHELE, *supra* note 16. See LINNEKIN, *supra* note 44.

crisis.⁵⁵

The denial of rights to Native peoples is accomplished in the Americas by overlooking the conquest and taking of their lands. Immigrants from Europe and Asia have benefitted from the appropriation of these lands. Nations and fortunes have been built on the destruction and occupation of indigenous homelands.

By asserting that race and not nationalism is the domestic problem of Native peoples, the distinction between the immigrants from Europe who settled the Americas and the Native peoples, is minimized.⁵⁶ By treating the plight of indigenous persons as the result of racism, nations, such as the United States, rule out any true sovereignty or self-determination for its indigenous people.⁵⁷ By maintaining that racism is the issue, indigenous persons are treated as if they were immigrants with desires of assimilation into the cultural and ideological mainstream of America.

The predicament of Native Hawaiians is duplicated by almost every major indigenous group in the world. Simply by the choice of terminology, that is in describing Hawaiians as "indigenous persons" rather than as an "annexed nation," one structures the discussion of this issue to the detriment of Hawaiians. Most of the incidents of environmental racism are really examples of environmental nationalism,⁵⁸

55. See Joseph S.M. Chang, *Pele on Trial in a Western Court*, (unpublished paper presented at the Law and Society Conference, Philadelphia, Pa., May 29, 1992, on file with the *University of Colorado Law Review*). On the attempt to stop geothermal drilling as defiling the goddess (or amakua) Pele, see generally, *Dedman v. Bd. of Land and Natural Resources*, 740 P.2d 28 (Haw. 1987) (rejecting Native Hawaiian claims for failure to prove injury to Madam Pele). See Michael D. Lemonick, *Hot Tempers in Hawaii*, TIME, Aug. 13, 1990, at 68. On the need to restructure native claims as environmental actions, see Dave Harada-Stone, *Court Asked to Revoke Geothermal Permit*, HILO TRIB. HERALD, Oct. 22, 1989, at 4; and, *Rainforest Action Network, Hawaiian Tropical Rainforest Alert* (discussion of Native land rights and religious practices occupies less than one eighth of the document).

56. Race is only one way of defining difference, but it is a particularly useful means of denying others the means by which to undermine the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane. If race is all that divides a planet, then deeper philosophical differences, such as those reflected in the thinking of indigenous persons are not important. By using race as the primary form of distinction, we admit that but for race we would be primarily united. Thus, the goal of eliminating racial divisions reaffirms the fundamental dichotomies of the wasteland, namely that the world remains profane and unreachable for human experience.

57. Thus, stating divisions as based on race, rather than deeper traditions related to cultural or clan views of the world, reproduces the economic necessity of scarcity. Indeed, the importance of avoiding deeper questioning of the fundamental dichotomies, a questioning which would reframe tribal differences as value choices, renders a continuing conflict about race an essential and continuous theme in daily life.

In short, racial hate is a necessary means of disguising deeper attempts to find the original self, a self not defined simply by outward appearance, but by fundamental differences in views of the world. The omnipresent racial conflict is a useful economic means of recreating scarcity and obliging acceptance of a central ideal of personhood, a particularly divided, Western ideal.

58. We could describe as racist the decision to locate extremely toxic wastes near the Hawaiian islands or, if the Army chooses to use a missile facility that will prevent Hawaiians from the use of land

or environmental imperialism.

How does a dominant society gain from reframing these incidents as "racist"? It would seem that such a label raises sufficient legal claims to empower the offended group. Even so, the implication that the harm is "racist" in its essence requires acceptance, particularly by the victim, of the assumption that the legal harm is a denial of *equality* not of *sovereignty*.

Sovereignty, of course, is the much more frightening political claim for oppressing nations, for its implications are not simply that one must be treated equally. Claims of racism do not threaten the Union nor do they threaten the property rights of private citizens who benefit from these lands.

Hence, the term "environmental racism" reaffirms a framework in which there may be token gains and monetary relief, but at the price of acquiescence in the continuing refusal to deal with these issues in terms of the rights of nations whose people never consented to their forced acceptance of American citizenship.

Of course the United States is not unique in this structuring of remedies. If we examine the structure of the momentous Earth Summit in June 1992⁵⁹ we see that the ability to participate in real decisionmaking on the environment is given only to nations. Indigenous persons fall into the category of Non-Governmental Groups (NGO)—second class participants with no ability to change outcomes.⁶⁰

set aside for them. We could describe as racist the decision of Union Carbide to locate its most toxic plants in third world countries. It would be more accurate to describe these decisions as acts against nations, for in both the case of Barking Sands and Bhopal, the recipient is not defined by race but by a citizenship in a nation that is used to the benefit by a dominant and bullying nation.

Indeed, for all Native Americans, including Native Hawaiians and Native Alaskans, every toxic waste site placed on a reservation or every decision, whether directly funded by government or permitted by government administrative practices which harms the lands of Native Americans, is a continuing wrong against the sovereignty of that First Nation. In the case of Native Hawaiians, the taking of national identity and citizenship is openly admitted by the United States. Thus, redefining these types of harms as "environmental decisions motivated by racism," (despite its nice progressive ring) is in reality, a form of military invasion as well as a legal denial of the national claims of these groups.

59. The world is about to take a momentous step. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as Earth Summit, is the most sweeping effort in the history of the world community to achieve agreements to save the planet. The range of issues is vast. More than 170 heads of state seek agreement on issues such as deforestation, pollution, global warming, ozone depletion, and hundreds of less publicized topics of environmental concern.

60. As of March 1992, the role that indigenous people will have seems extremely limited. Indigenous persons, speaking through non-governmental organizations, are only one of many different non-governmental organizations. Prior to the fourth preparatory conference of March 2, 1992, there were 350 NGOs with many more expected to be accredited by the end of the preparatory conference. The few NGOs representing indigenous people were outnumbered and dwarfed by the NGOs that were extensions of the interests of the developing countries, or who represented women, youth, labor, business and many other interests.

If the existing underrepresentation of indigenous persons continues throughout the actual summit,

Compared to other non-governmental organizations representing women, children, business groups, health groups, labor and the like, the status of indigenous persons is fundamentally different. The most significant indigenous non-governmental organizations, representing Native Americans, or the tribes of the Amazon are, like Native Hawaiians, nation-states or politically distinct entities whose lands and resources are occupied by invading nations. It is a neat fiction to treat Hawaiians as if they were on par with parents of single children or groups opposed to drift net fishing. Hawaiians are not an interest group. But for American annexation, they would be the exact political equivalent of each of the 177 nations given the power to ratify Agenda 21 in Brazil this summer.

Many nations have "minorities" similar to Hawaiians. The participants of the summit are complaining about the unfairness of other divisions, such as the North-South division. They protest loudly that the developed North is imposing on the South unfair terms for environmental quality. Yet, the one line of discrimination that will never surface in the debates is the universal silencing of the voice of the politically denied. By describing Hawaiians and other groups as "indigenous persons" the sophisticated political status of these groups is ignored.⁶¹

The political claims of Hawaiians stems not from just being here first in some less than organized fashion, but from their status as a nation, with a treaty with the United States and every accoutrement of the so-called powers, including post offices, a land court system of registration, a judicial system and the like. Similarly, describing Tibetans as a minority or the Canadian Cree as a tribe is to use naked power to define status in order to force upon many of these nations the disastrous by-products of the Earth Summit.

Many environmental decisions will create a process of slow genocide for many groups.⁶² Unfortunately, the United Nations has within

the final product will bear little of the difference in viewpoint that indigenous persons could have contributed. This is an unfortunate loss, since indigenous persons, more so than any other group, have a profoundly different view of environmental controversies.

61. I argue that this difference is fundamental and potentially transformative. The values and world view of indigenous persons is antithetical to the basic framework from which almost all other interest groups commence their analysis. There is increasing awareness of this "inherent" environmental consciousness among groups such as Native Americans, and in my case, Native Hawaiians. However, the understanding by outsiders of the differences that exist has been articulated only in Western terms.

62. In short, any possible voice of indigenous persons on the environmental crisis fails because indigenous persons are viewed as essentially primitive precursors of their modern, highly Westernized counterparts. Any possible difference that exists in terms of the world view of contemporary indigenous societies, particularly in the United States, is minimized. When differences found in narratives, dance or other retained forms of community memory are identified, they are viewed as dead remnants

its powers the ability to empower many of these groups. Former national political entities that do not have defined boundaries, or whose former citizenry are spread across several nations, could be given ambassadors to represent these groups.

The present system encourages the country which has committed the harm, such as the United States, to come forth as the representative of internally subordinated national groups. The failure to exercise both courage and imagination on the part of UNCED is particularly shameful in light of the amazing history in Eastern Europe that is unfolding. Recent events there prove the continuing struggle of national identities to strive for recognition.

UNCED and the United Nations will either be opponents or supporters of the claims of these entities. For national entities such as Native Hawaiians who have not progressed as far as Lithuania, UNCED recognition of a right to participation, greater than simply that as an NGO, would be consistent with the original principles founding the United Nations. Given present policy UNCED is largely an aider and abettor in the redistribution of environmental harm that will fall on these so-called "indigenous persons."

V. INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AS CATALYSTS FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

The implications are that the transformative potential lies in the ghettos, barrios and reservations of the Americas. It is here that the revolutionary potential of the new world, once crushed by Europe, has become a powerful force. From the eyes of Western economics, all statistics show these to be war zones, filled with crack houses, random shooting, the uneducable and the dying. These actions, however, are misinterpreted by the dominant society. These acts are forms of active defiance of assimilation into an alien culture. They are a means of retaining one's original nature.⁶³

Throughout the Americas, and much of the third world, there is an underground war being fought for the soul of the planet. On one

of ancient beliefs long lost. To the dominant society, it is inconceivable that such values could be preserved by people who have adopted Western forms and desires. Moreover, Western society views indigenous communities that seek to modernize as implicitly forfeiting any ideological connections with the past. In short, the Western mind views the native person from their own experience. Namely, adopting modern forms can only be achieved by sacrificing the value systems of the past.

63. Normative economics has assumed that everyone in America wants the same goods, the same life, the same education, the same culture. But many of the young, and even the elderly, Native Americans, Hispanics, African-Americans are, even unknown to themselves, fighting against the destruction of their heritage. Yet, they cannot defend their actions in such terms for they are victims of an educational system that has denied them knowledge of themselves and forced upon them the assumption of assimilation.

side are the proponents of Western assimilatory economics, on the other are indigenous people—those who apply different frameworks to the destruction of rain forests.⁶⁴

More than anything, labeling the struggles of these people as ones of “race” and “environmental” has disarmed the transformative power of indigenous people. The rhetoric of race makes the indigenous of America only an equal to the immigrant from Europe. The rhetoric of environment denies the desire to avoid assimilation.

If there is to be real world progress it will be in three areas. First, the black, Hispanic and Native American underclass will redefine their political struggle in terms of nationalism. Second, the white largely middle- and upper-class environmental movement will see that they are motivated by more than the simple economics of survival. Rather, they will discover in the reconstruction of their environment what Rousseau and others missed—that respect for the environment is an underlying archetype in the human psyche. The grail quest was an illusion for resolving the insecurity of immortality. Only in nature can one find that return and the uniting of mind and spirit. Third, real change will come about with the re-conception of the idea of nation states. The history of nations, from the first divisions of Gaul into three to the Holy Roman Empires dominated by the Pope to the League of Nations and the United Nations, have been motivated by exercises in the scarcity of power and territory.

In conclusion, the Western preoccupation with the importance of a quest, as generating meaning in one's individual life, has resulted in the exploitation and destruction of nature and the people who are its natural stewards. The universal power in the archetypes of both indigenous and ancient Western mythology provide the first steps to building a new political and spiritual order.

64. As in Hawaii, the struggle of those clinging to their culture is demeaned as quaint, as dead, as delaying progress. Their claims of religious freedom are differentially treated.